

Japan



JAPAN AND AMERICA

Speeches delivered at a Dinner
tendered to
VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII
by
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

October First, Nineteen Hundred and Seventeen

FOREWORD

ON the occasion of their official visit to New York City, Viscount Kikujiro Ishii and other members of the Imperial Japanese Commission to the United States were entertained on October 1, 1917, at Dinner at the St. Regis Hotel by Oswald Garrison Villard. Editors or publishers of many newspapers and magazines of New York and various sections of the United States were among the guests. The representatives of Japan were thus brought into touch with an influential portion of the American press and a frank and cordial interchange of views on American-Japanese relations took place. The addresses are reproduced in the order of their delivery by the following-named speakers:

Oswald Garrison Villard	- - - -	Page 3-4
Viscount Kikujiro Ishii	- - - -	Page 4
Comptroller William A. Prendergast		Page 5
Professor John Dewey	- - - - -	Page 5-6
Don C. Seitz	- - - - -	Page 6-7
Ambassador Aimaro Sato	- - -	Page 7



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Address by Oswald Garrison Villard

President of The New York Evening Post Company

Viscount Ishii:

It is a great privilege to have even a small part in welcoming your Excellency and your distinguished associates of this Commission to New York. The official welcome you have just received will have demonstrated beyond question the earnest friendship of the imperial city of America. But it seemed as if your visit should not be allowed to pass without an opportunity being given to some of the makers of public opinion through the press of the East of the United States to receive a message directly from you in this, the most vital and most tragic period in the history of modern nations. Hence this gathering.

The hour is the more opportune since both nations are allies in the greatest struggle of any time. Surely no moment could be more propitious for the forging of new ties, the strengthening of old ones, and the removal of all causes of misunderstanding or friction than the present, when both nations have staked their financial and material prosperity, yes, their very all, upon the effort to safeguard small nations and to convert to democracy that Germany which is to-day ruled by as unprincipled and wicked a ring of militarists, aristocrats, and autocrats, as ever brought a proud and mighty nation to utter shame and disgrace.

When one recalls what these men have done to all humanity, the crimes of which they and their dupes have been guilty, what misery and suffering they have caused in every nation on earth, one trembles to think what fate will be theirs if there be such a thing as retributive justice. There are among us Americans open differences of opinion as to the best means of combating this German menace to civilization, but I beg your Excellency to take back to Japan the truth that no single American who understands and has at heart the love of American institutions, but is entirely and completely determined that the abominable doctrine of might above right shall never control this world, and that the ethical standards established as the rule of conduct among honest and honorable men shall prevail among all the nations of the earth.

We of the American press have been asked not to comment upon the negotiations lately in progress in Washington or to speculate as to just what your Excellency took under consideration with our Secretary of State. To this injunction we have loyally given heed. But it is, I am sure, entirely permissible now to voice the desire that in its every aspect your Mission has achieved the highest success, and to breathe the ardent hope that the scope of your activity

touched not only upon our relations in war, but upon those of peace. For I wish your Excellency to realize that there are among us American press men many who have no more eagerly cherished desire than to utilize the existing close alliance to wipe out every cause for friction and to so strengthen the foundations of friendship between the two nations as to render them safe, safe beyond the assaults of demagogues in office or of the press, and safe beyond any sudden gusts of popular passion. With some of us this desire is second only to the question of a just and lasting peace as a prelude to the building of a better and a nobler world.

We echo with all earnestness the sentiments so nobly voiced by you at the great dinner on Saturday evening, for those journalists for whom I would speak have been for some time laboring—to use your own words—“to cast out the devil of suspicion and distrust,” “to combat misconception and fraud” in the relations of Japan and the United States, and are already at the task of rebuilding the “edifice of mutual confidence.” To this we shall devote ourselves the more zealously because of your appeal and the more effectively because of your assurance that Japan has no designs upon the territorial integrity of China.

We feel the more deeply about all this because some of our little-respected, or our little-understanding colleagues, have played the wicked and deplorable part of striving to sow the seeds of discord. I beg your Excellency to believe that this no more represents the whole of the honest press of this land than it does the wishes of the vast bulk of the American people. The exceptions have, however, impelled the rest of us to do all within our power to suggest ways and means to render secure the ties that bind. Thus, we would have an interchange of visits between representatives of every class of citizens. We would have established within the United States an entirely free and independent bureau of information so as to make it possible to contradict at once any such false dispatches as those which on this side of the Pacific have represented the Japanese fleet as having designs on Mexico and in Japan have portrayed the United States fleet as having passed through the Panama Canal in full war panoply bound for Yokohama.

We desire to have created a Japanese-American commission, or a commission from all the countries around the Pacific, to meet on convenient ground and to study and report upon all the problems growing out of the contacts of the several peoples concerned; we desire to have our own laws so amended that there shall

be no distinctions between aliens of any nationalities and that all of foreign birth who come to live permanently among us shall acquire citizenship on equal terms. We stand, in other words, for the historic American square deal to all comers—however often it may have been honored in the breach in the past. And, above all, some of us desire complete disarmament when peace comes abroad, that the cost and the menace of great fleets and great armies shall be removed once for all; in order that men shall not rise, as they have risen in the past in Congress, to declare that our navy is built to combat Japan's, or in the Japanese Parliament to try to bring about the fall of a Ministry because the Japanese navy is not as great as that of the United States. We wish, I repeat, to remove every cause for suspicion and distrust; every basis for the belief that one nation is threatening the other.

This disarmament, some people are now saying, is an idealistic dream. But, Sir, it is the idealists who are going to control this world when the war is over, those who are dreaming dreams of the brotherhood of man, seeing visions of social regeneration, of an equality among men and women such as has never before been attempted on earth. Visionaries and dangerous theorists, some of our practical politicians are calling them, and he would be bold indeed who would declare all their plans to be practical or wise or to assert that any clear-cut or approximately complete chart of the new world in which we shall live has been drawn. We must grope our way into it, trying this route, essaying that highway, tapping at each portal, trying each gateway into the novel and the unattempted.

We shall stumble, we may be swayed by fears and passions, but forward into the new domain we shall go. That is as clear as the snow top of Fujiyama on a cloudless day. When almost every nation reports amazing Socialist gains, when Spain, Portugal, Argentina, and even Australia have been on the brink of revolution, and the London *Times* is alarmed at the amazing spread of social revolution in England, it is no wonder that the world is asking itself: Whither is this all leading to? No man is wise enough to say; few can look beyond the morrow. We can only see that the world is in the grip of terrific forces, of huge spiritual and economic genii, as unwittingly unchained as those in the Arabian Nights, and that, for better or for worse, modern institutions are being recast in the mould. The reassuring thing is that power is going out of the hands of the few into those of the many; that the drift is utterly away from the European imperialism of the past and

its diplomacy. To conquer small nationalities or to take slices out of any thinly populated countries will be difficult indeed for any European nation hereafter.

That will mean a vast gain for peace and good-will among nations, just as the war has shown the absence of personal antagonisms among the individual soldiers. All of which, your Excellency, bears directly upon the future relations of differentiated races. They are bound to improve, for among the great inarticulate masses there surely exists no other feeling save one of good-will to the workers of other climes and the desire to live and let live, each in his own pursuit of happiness. Our American masses will, I am sure, approve of any step, at any cost, to bring about better relations between our nations, which goes below the surface and seeks the basis for permanent friendship not only in matters economic and political, but in what may be inadequately described as the cultural philosophy of the two nations, their deep underlying beliefs and aspirations. I am

sure that all my hearers have been struck as I have been by the devotion of American or English missionaries or residents abroad to the peoples among whom they have lived for a considerable period of time. Thus, they love the Turks, despite all the crimes committed in their name, and those who really and thoroughly know Chinese, Egyptians, and Japanese, and others whose difficult languages are a bar to easy intercourse, love them, honor them, and cherish the desire to see them rise steadily to power and self-knowledge and true freedom. The task for us of the press who are dedicated to friendly relations the world over is to bring home to our people the meaning of this, which is the essential oneness of humanity whenever we take the time really to know others as we know ourselves.

To this idealism for the future there is coming, I believe, a great army of reinforcement as soon as the war is over. I mean the survivors of the trenches, the hale and hearty as well as the blinded and mutilated. There is every indication that

they will return determined that new ways be found of organizing the world and of settling its differences of opinions and aspirations. It is not possible to believe that after the sacrifices they have made they will be on the side of race prejudice or of hate, of suspicion, of distrust, nor of the spirit of murder as we have seen it organized by the German General Staff.

Whether this opinion be right or wrong, your Excellency, I beg of you to return to Japan in the belief and with the hope that the outcome of this whole world struggle is certain to make for human fellowship. And will you not also say to your countrymen in your own Eastern land, the land of extraordinary ability and power, of the proud spirit that prefers to perish rather than to suffer dishonor, the land of exquisite art and rarest beauty, that there are some in America who have no higher wish than that it shall be said of them: They were of the belief in the brotherhood of man and therefore they were at all times friends and lovers of Japan.

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Address by Viscount Kikujiro Ishii of the Imperial Japanese Commission to the United States

Mr. Villard and Gentlemen: Only such a host as you among a multitude of hosts and a wealth of hospitality could have realized the particular pleasure it would afford me to be your guest to-night at a gathering of this character. You are giving me an opportunity to express my sense of deep appreciation of the part played by the newspapers of New York and of America in this wonderful reception to me and my associates of this Mission. It would be unwise for me to waste your time, and particularly unwise to talk too much, especially in this distinguished presence. I am not going to bore you with repetition of what I have already said in public speech in many places. I have endeavored to speak frankly and plainly at all times, and while I regret shortcomings of language and expression, I have done my utmost to convey the truth and nothing but the truth to the people of America. I am indeed deeply grateful to the press of this country for the splendid and wholehearted support and consistent courtesy extended to us. Gentlemen, the spirit is willing, but my tongue is weak.

I cannot to the full extent tell you of my appreciation, because your language fails me, and certainly my language would fail to satisfy you if I attempted to use it here. I have endeavored since landing in America some seven weeks ago to avoid the use of idle words or the putting forward of ideas capable of a double meaning or which could be misconstrued. In this connection, let me ask a favor at your hands. There is one explanation I

would like to make here before you, and request you to transmit to the people of this country. In a speech delivered on Saturday night I made particular reference to the policy of Japan with regard to China. This reference took the form of a repetition of the pledge and promise that Japan would not violate the political independence or territorial integrity of China; would at all times regard the high principle of the open door and equal opportunity. Now I find that this utterance of mine is taken as the enunciation of a "Monroe Doctrine in Asia." I want to make it very clear to you that the application of the term "Monroe Doctrine" to this policy and principle, voluntarily outlined and pledged by me, is inaccurate.

There is this fundamental difference between the "Monroe Doctrine" of the United States as to Central and South America and the enunciation of Japan's attitude toward China. In the first there is on the part of the United States no engagement or promise, while in the other Japan voluntarily announces that Japan will herself engage not to violate the political or territorial integrity of her neighbor, and to observe the principle of the open door and equal opportunity, asking at the same time other nations to respect these principles.

Therefore, gentlemen, you will mark the wide difference and agree with me, I am sure, that the use of the term is somewhat loose and misleading. I ask you to note this with no suggestion that I can or any one else does question the policy or attitude of your country, which we well

know will always deal fairly and honorably with other nations.

As you must have noticed, I have persistently struck one note every time I have spoken. It has been the note of warning against German intrigue in America and in Japan—intrigue which has extended over a period of more than ten years. I am not going to weary you with a repetition of this squalid story of plots, conceived and fostered by the agents of Germany, but I solemnly repeat the warning here in this most distinguished gathering, so thoroughly representative of the highest ideals of American journalism.

In my speeches at various places I have endeavored to speak frankly on all points at issue or of interest at this time. There are, of course, some things which cannot be openly discussed, because of a wise embargo upon unwise disclosures, but I am confident that from this time forward we will be able to effectively cooperate in all matters tending to secure a victory in this struggle which means so much for all of us, and that throughout all the years to come, differences of opinion or difficulties arising between our two countries will be settled, as all such questions and difficulties can be settled, between close friends and partners.

I thank you, sir, for your hospitality and for your courtesy. I assure you, gentlemen, again that we appreciate more than I can express the high consideration, the patriotism, and the broad and friendly spirit with which you have treated this Mission from Japan.



Dinner to Viscount Kikujiro Ishii and Members of the



DINNER TO
VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII
AND MEMBERS OF THE
IMPERIAL JAPANESE COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES
ST. REGIS. NEW YORK. OCTOBER 1, 1917.

Imperial Japanese Commission to the United States

Address by William A. Prendergast

Comptroller of the City of New York

Mr. Chairman, Viscount Ishii, Gentlemen of the Commission, your Excellency, and Gentlemen: Our host upon this occasion has asked me to say a word of welcome to Viscount Ishii and associate members of the Commission in the name of the great city of New York. During the last few days you have heard from the city's Chief Executive, in phrase chaste and of superior dignity, of your cordial welcome by the city.

It would seem to me that it is hardly necessary even to attempt to repeat at this time anything that has already been said to you, or to try to further impress upon your minds the very great pleasure and honor and happiness that it gives New York to have you as its guests; and this welcome has had a peculiar cordiality. We have, it is true, welcomed to this city during the last few months the representatives of other nations—all of them our allies; but I think I can say that with all those nations there was a somewhat different relation from that which has existed with yours. To most of them we were bound from time immemorial, by ties of blood and very close interest and association. Yours is a newer connection; and it is true that there have been times when there has existed misunderstanding regarding the real attitude of Japan toward America, and America toward Japan; but this misunderstanding never arose from any inherent belief upon the part of the great

mass of our people as to what your attitude really was. It was, as has so often been said upon these ceremonial occasions during the last few days, due entirely to the disposition of malefactors of the press, if I may say so [laughter], and one principal malefactor in particular [great laughter]—fabrications prepared for the express purpose of creating disturbance of mind and understanding and misconception and doubt and distrust between these peoples; but it has been splendidly shown to you, since your coming to this country seven weeks ago, that everything of that kind that has been said has been untrue, and that upon the part of the American people there does exist and has existed a feeling not only of cordial friendship but of great, intense admiration for what your nation represents, and what it has done for civilization in the last fifty or sixty years.

Now, Viscount Ishii, might I at this time sound a note which may be somewhat contrary to that which has been the dominant idea of our discussions upon these occasions? We have treated, and naturally, of war. That is the thought that is uppermost in our minds. It is the thing that is in the thought and the mind of man, woman, and child—war. I can say detestable war, because war is detestable, and we are fighting this war to-day for the purpose of driving out war permanently. That is the great object of our entering this war, or one of

the great objects, and I am sure that it is also one of yours. It was a great relief to us—a great relief to the civilized world—that when this war broke out you were in your position of primacy upon the Pacific, there to guard effectively and effectually against the diplomatic depredations that might have taken place if Germany had been permitted to do as she was disposed to do in China. For the service that you rendered in that respect the world is indeed your debtor. But the idea that I think we should also have in mind, as well as winning the war, as well as prosecuting it to a successful finish, is this: While we are engaged in this war, let us realize the ties that bind. Let us realize that brothers in war should be brothers in peace; that what we have at interest in the war we will also have at interest in times of peace; and during this struggle, when we are so close together, when we are fraternizing, as brothers should, when we are feeling toward each other as brothers should, let us lay the groundwork of a great commercial relation that no contingency or exigency will ever disturb in the future, the groundwork of a commercial relation that will draw us so close together that we will realize the genuine ties of brotherhood. That, I think, is one of the great desires of the American people, and that is one of the great desires that New York expresses to you, at the conclusion of your happy visit to us.

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Address by John Dewey

Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University

Some one remarked that the best way to unite all the nations on this globe would be an attack from some other planet. In the face of such an alien enemy, people would respond with a sense of their unity of interest and purpose. We are the next thing to that at the present time. Before a common menace, North and South America, the Occident and Orient have done an unheard-of thing, a wonderful thing, a thing which, it may well be, future history will point to as the most significant thing in these days of wonderful happenings. They have joined forces amply and intimately in a common cause with one another and with the European nations which were most directly threatened. What a few dreamers hoped might happen in the course of some slow-coming century has become an accomplished fact in a few swift years. In spite of geographical distance, unlike speech, diverse religion,

and hitherto independent aims, nations from every continent have formed what for the time being is nothing less than a world state, an immense coöperative action in behalf of civilization.

It is safe to say that, with all its preparedness, Germany never anticipated *this* result. Even now the fact is so close to us that even we, who have been brought together, are too much engaged in the duties which the union imposes to realize the force of the new and unique creation of a union of peoples, yes, of continents. The imagination is not yet capable of taking it in.

It has been more than once noted that Germany has exhibited an extraordinary spectacle to the world. It has stood for organization at home and disorganization abroad, for coöperative effort among its own people and for division and hostility among all other peoples. All through the earlier years of the war the

intellectuals of Germany appealed for sympathy in this country because of what Germany had done in the way of social legislation and administration to promote the unity of all classes, because of its efficiency in organization, because of the intelligent efforts it had made to secure domestic prosperity. But, at the same time, as events have since only too clearly demonstrated, it was bending every energy of corrupt and hateful intrigue to disunite the American people among themselves and to incite suspicion, jealousy, envy, and even active hostility between the American nation and other nations, like Mexico and Japan, with whom we had every reason to live in amity and no reasons of weight for anything but amity. In the light of this exhibition, German love of organization and coöperative unity at home gains a sinister meaning. It stands convicted of falsity because born of a malicious con-

spiracy against the rest of the world. It loved unity and harmony, not for themselves, but simply as a means of bringing about that dominion of Germany over the world of which its remorseless and treacherous efforts to divided other peoples are the other half.

The rest of the world, of the once neutral world, was, it must be confessed, slow to awake to Germany's plots and purposes. They seemed fantastic, unreal, in their unbridled lust for power and their incredibly bad faith. It was especially hard for us in this country who have never been trained to identify our loyalty to our own country with hatred of any other to realize that Germany's genius for efficiency and organization had become a menace to domestic union and international friendliness over the world. But finally in North America, as in South America, and in Asia, when the case became too clear for further doubt, Germany's challenge was met. Against Germany's efforts to disunite there arose a world united in endeavor and achievement on a scale unprecedented in the history of this globe, a scale too vast not to endure and in enduring to make the future history of international relationships something very different from their past history. In struggling by cunning and corruption to separate and divide other peoples, Germany has succeeded in drawing them together with a rapidity and an intimacy

almost beyond belief. Nations thus brought together in community of feeling and action will not easily fall apart, even though the occasion which brought them together passes, as, pray God, it will soon pass. The Germany which seems finally to be breaking up within has furnished the rest of the world with a cement whose uses will not easily be forgotten.

Formal alliances, set treaties, legal arrangements for arbitration and conciliation, leagues and courts of nations, all have their importance. But, gentlemen, their importance is secondary. They are effects rather than causes, symptoms rather than forces. You may have them all, and if nations have not discovered that their permanent interests are in mutuality and interchange, they will be evaded or overridden. They may be lacking, but if the vital sap of reciprocal trust and friendly intercourse is flowing through the arteries of commerce and the public press, they will come in due season as naturally and inevitably as the trees put forth their leaves when their day of spring has come. It is our problem and our duty, I repeat, especially of you gentlemen of diplomacy and of what I shall venture to call the even more powerful instrument of good will and understanding, the public press, to turn our immediate and temporary relation for purposes of war into an enduring and solid connection for all of the sweet and constructive offices of that peace which

must some day again dawn upon a wracked and troubled world.

Where diversity is greatest, there is the greatest opportunity for a fruitful co-operation which will be magnificently helpful to those who cooperate. This meeting this evening is a signal evidence of the coming together of the portions of the earth which for countless centuries went their own way in isolation, developing great civilizations, each in their own way. Now in the fulness of days, the Orient and the Occident, the United States and Japan, have drawn together to engage in faith in themselves and in each other in the work of building up a society of nations each free to develop its own national life and each bound in helpful intercourse with every other. May every influence which would sow suspicion and misunderstanding be accursed, and every kindly power that furthers enduring understanding and reciprocal usefulness be blest. May this meeting stand not only as a passing symbol, but as a lasting landmark of the truth that among nations as among men of good will there shall be peace, not a peace of isolation or bare toleration which has become impossible in this round world of ours, not a peace based on mutual fear and mutual armament, but a virile peace in which emulation in commerce, science, and the arts bespeaks two great nations that respect each other because they respect themselves.

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Address by Don C. Seitz Business Manager of the New York World

I think the visit of the Japanese Commission has been the most impressive among all of those who have come to us from the other parts of the world as the outcome of the great war, and I think, too, it has a great purpose, and is bound to have a great result, because, if you will recall carefully, you will find that the other gentlemen all came to the United States to get something; but these gentlemen have come to give us something.

There is a great deal to be learned in the Orient, and I know it is a trite phrase to say that everything is upside down in the East, that all Oriental ideas are opposite those held by ourselves, and in some ways this is an improvement. There is also a perspicacity among Orientals which we lack ourselves. Only recently I had to sit for nearly an hour and listen to the efforts of the former Attorney-General of the United States to explain and vindicate the Monroe Doctrine, and here Viscount Ishii, in the midst of many affairs, sizes it up in a few words, and says that our fundamental fault is that we will allow no one to lick our neighbors but ourselves.

The East has often been advertised as changeless. This is wrong. Matthew Arnold, you know, wrote a celebrated verse in which he said something like this; that "The East bowed low before the blast, in silent proud disdain; she let the legions thunder past, and turned to thought again."

Now, take it from me, they do more thinking in an hour than we do in a week in the United States. We very largely jump at conclusions—and in the East they think.

People who speak about the Japanese nation as a race of little people doing little things, are misled. A small country, it preserves its proportions and it does nothing without thinking. We do many things without thinking, and often regret it afterwards. These men coming here teach us of our wrong conclusions, of our ease in accepting false premises, and we should change our habits.

Foreign affairs have never received decent treatment in the American press of recent years, because our own have been more interesting, and we have not involved ourselves with the troubles of

other races. Now that other nations have brought their troubles to us, we are compelled to know something, and I think we will. The newspapers seem to me a little slow in grasping, and slow in informing our people, and our own Government has been remiss in not letting us know more, and the press, I think, has been a little too insistent in regard to domestic affairs. We have accepted the excuse of war time to cover many things that we ought to know. If you were to receive in your office the foreign publications from Japan, such as the *Japan Advertiser* and the *Japan Chronicle*, and perceive the care and intelligence with which world affairs are discussed and made plain to that very limited constituency, you would feel rather ashamed of your editorial exhibitions. You would be surprised at the amount of space you waste in matters that are of no particular concern in a time like this.

I think it would be a good idea if every publisher and editor here would subscribe to either one or the other, or both of those publications, and make somebody in the office read them (laughter). You know we have in New York city a circu-

lation of about a million and a quarter copies of foreign-language publications; and I never yet found an editor in New York who knew a single thing that was printed in one of them. Now, they may be saying all kinds of things about us and for us and against us, and we ought to know something, and we decline to do it.

You know, some of the peculiarities of Japanese politics, and the way they look at things strike us oddly. I was interested in a recent episode in Japan. Mr. Ozaki, whom some of you have met in New York, and who was for a long time Mayor of Tokio, and leader of democratic thought in Japan, has recently gone farther, perhaps, than even his original platform policy, and not long ago one of his constituents, a humble shoemaker, feeling that his idol had gone far beyond the limits, killed himself as a protest against the democratic thoughts of his leader. (Laughter.) I was wondering how great a mortality would follow in our present Mayoralty campaign, if this practice were zealously carried out. (Laughter.) How many children would have a father a day after the campaign got well under way? (Laughter.)

We take things for granted here that they will not take for granted in the Far East.

Well, when the Japanese came forward at the beginning of this war to join their first ally, England, and their later allies,

ourselves, people said they did it without risk. Why, gentlemen, no nation in the world ever took such a risk. Japan is a land without surplus, a little land, where people live crowded between the mountains and the sea; where, unless the soil bears three crops a year, people starve; where, if the fisher fleets fail to come in regularly every other day, there is little to eat; where everything has to be watched; where nothing can be wasted, and where the population grows apace. If they were to be blockaded, or shut in in any fashion, Japan would starve quicker than any nation in the world. Remoteness is not a defence in these times, as we ourselves are about to demonstrate. Everybody is within reach; and so they went into this matter, not selfishly, but with a high idealism; and when we learned through the secret dispatches recently that the great German Empire thought so ill of the great Eastern Empire, as to make it appear that it could break its word, we then and there were able to write for once the true value of German knowledge of world affairs. We were then able for the first time to perceive that there had been a most lamentable breakdown of intellectual and moral force in Germany; and that, gentlemen, is the thing we have to guard against ourselves, because this war, after all, is not going to be won by force of arms. It is going to be won by the sufferings of the non-combatants, and by the intellectual and moral

forces, when they once rally, and put on the proper pressure; and what we have got to look for, is a rally of this intellectual and moral force, and it would not surprise me in the least, if the greatest factor of it all came from Japan.

An observer who came recently from Europe said to me that the most dangerous thing about the situation was not German militarism, but the breakdown of intellectual strength in the chancelleries of Europe. He said he had not found anywhere among all the countries and in all the Cabinets men of strength of mind enough to take hold of this hideous disease and bring it to some kind of an end. He understood it must wear itself out in the blood of the people, in the suffering of the innocent, and in the destruction of property.

Supposing out of the East should come a ray of light that leads into the past. One thing, at least, has come. We in the United States have swept away forever this miserable doctrine of distrust that has come forward day after day to puzzle and vex us. When I was in Japan the Premier said to me: "What have we done that should arouse this suspicion, these endless attacks? We have met every request you made, and kept every promise we have made. Where does it come from? What have we done and what have you done?" And I could not answer him. We know now. We have located it.

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Address by Aimaro Sato Ambassador from Japan

A friend of mine was speaking to me of the author of "Paradise Lost" the other day.

Some one asked the poet if he were going to instruct his daughters in the different languages of which he was a master. Milton turned upon his friend sharply:

"No, sir," said he, with a grim and frigid emphasis; "one tongue is enough for any woman."

To-night, before this genial and brilliant company, I find that one tongue is a good deal more than enough for one mere man, especially when he happens to be a Japanese in the diplomatic service, and more especially when the tongue happens to be the English language.

The fact, however, that I am actually upon my feet testifies, with something of a touching eloquence, to the witchery of the hours, to the magic of your friendly presences, and, above all, to the compelling lure of the theme of which our hearts are filled to overflowing to-night—the bringing together of the two great peoples on either side of the Pacific to a heart-to-heart understanding. Once that is ours, the German intrigues will be but an empty jest, and the flaming yellow-

journal propaganda as futile as the poison-gas attack upon the sun and the stars.

We are gathered here—and my honored colleague, Viscount Ishii, is with us—for a modest bit of work which is nothing short of wiping the Pacific Ocean from off the map of spiritual and intellectual unity and community between the United States and Japan. We have come together as good neighbors, you of America and we of Japan. But we have been that since the days of your Townsend Harris. To-night we sit side by side as something more than mere friends—we are soldiers of the common cause. We are to fight for the realization of one dream for the defence of the one and same political ideal. Gentlemen, the Empire of the Extreme East and the greatest of earth's republics are now comrades in arms against the common foe. And that is something new. For the first time since the Lord spoke the world into being the Stars and Stripes will garnish the battle-red skyline side by side with the sun flag of Nippon in a world-wide war upon militant autocracy. That is a fact big enough for history to take note of.

Time was—and it has been long and

weary, too—when black intrigues and blatant propaganda against the American-Japanese amity lorded it over the popular sentiment of your people. In the very days when Japan was doing her bit for the happy consummation of the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty, there were people and press here who painted Japan as the arch-fiend, scheming to force the British Empire to back her in a wanton war against the United States. Those were trying days. We bore them in silence. We bore them, happy in the profound confidence in the ultimate triumph of the American sense of justice and of right. We bore them with the conviction that no clouds, however black, however stormy, had ever succeeded in putting out the sun; that the sunlight is ever the brighter the blacker the storm. But that time, thank Heaven, is no more.

And it is with a throbbing pleasure I note that the coming of your guest of honor to-night and his fellow commissioners seems to mark the turn of the tide in the American-Japanese relations. But what makes the visit of the present Mission epochal is not what it has already wrought upon the sentiment of the people of America. The real significance of the Ishii Mission is its effect upon the to-morrow, upon the things that are to come. And I beg you to permit me to join you in hailing the visit of the Mission as a promise and prophecy of the coming of a saner day, when there shall be no East and no West in the wider vision of international peace.

EDITED for that constantly increasing class of readers who believe that only by knowing both sides of a question can they reasonably hold to either.

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